THE GILLMANS OF HIGHGATE AND S. T. COLERIDGE.

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who was a pupil of Mr. James Gillman, Surgeon,
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with Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

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THE GILLMANS OF HIGHGATE

AND

S. T. COLERIDGE,

With several hitherto unpublished Notes, Letters, &c.

1895.

THE

GILLMANS OF HIGHGATE

WITH LETTERS FROM

Samuel Taylor Coleridge,

&c.,

ILLUSTRATED WITH VIEWS AND PORTRAITS,

BEING A CHAPTER FROM THE

History of the Gillman Family.

By ALEXANDER W. GILLMAN.

LONDON: ELLIOT STOCK, 62, Paternoster Row.

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THE BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES in the following Chapter, containing several new letters from and particulars of the Poet Coleridge, &c., are taken from a larger work, which is being prepared for the Press, entitled "Searches into the History of the Gillman Family," the author deeming that many may like to possess a copy of the Highgate Chapter and particulars of the life of James Gillman, the "friend" of Coleridge, to whom the whole work may not be of so much interest.

156371

PREFACE.

By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

THE beautiful northern suburb of Highgate can boast that among its most famous residents were two men whose magnificent intellects have illuminated our literature for all time. Francis Bacon died at Highgate in the seventeenth century and nearly two centuries later Coleridge, whose special influence on national thought can scarcely be said to be less, died there also.

My friend, Mr. Alexander Gillman, has asked me to write a preface to this work, in which he brings forward fresh materials illustrating the life of the latter of these two—the great poet and philosopher, whose character and genius are every day better understood and appreciated—and I do so with much pleasure.

Although an essay so full of interest needs no introduction to the reading public it may be well to refer in a few words to its chief claims to attention.

In 1816 Coleridge came to reside with Mr. James Gillman, a young surgeon of thirty-four, who was then living on Highgate Hill. He was introduced to Gillman by Dr. Joseph Adams, of Hatton Garden, in the hope that he might be cured of his fatal habit of opium eating, and he was cured. This is a point of great importance, for the cure has been denied.

The relative responsibility of Coleridge and De Quincey, the famous "Opium eater," in respect to their first use of the drug, was always a sore point with the latter, and being offended by the printing of a certain letter of Coleridge's in "Gillman's Life," De Quincey affirmed that Coleridge took to opium as a source of luxurious sensation and not merely to alleviate pain. Moreover, he said that Coleridge's constitution was strong and excellent. "Mr. Gillman never says one word upon the event of the great Highgate experiment for leaving off laudanum, though Coleridge came to Mr. Gillman's for

no other purpose."* De Quincey goes on to say, probably half in joke, that Gillman was converted to opium and that a hogshead of laudanum went up every third month through Highgate tunnel. This, of course, is absurd, and both the other points are equally untrue.

Mr. James Gillman wrote, "It was not idleness, it was not sensual indulgence that led Coleridge to contract the habit. No, it was latent disease,"† and he always affirmed that the habit was eventually overcome. In spite of this a vague report got abroad that Coleridge continued to obtain supplies of laudanum surreptitiously from a chemist in Tottenham Court Road, through the agency of the doctor's boy. Mr. A. W. Gillman is able to refute this scandal on the testimony of the boy—now Mr. Thomas Taylor (see p. 15). Mrs. Watson's letter to *The Times* (reprinted on p. 35), containing an account of the *post-mortem* examination, proves how great Coleridge's sufferings must have been, and this was the man who was said by De Quincey to have had an excellent constitution.

It is truly a satisfaction to lovers of Coleridge, who have been told repeatedly that he did little and allowed his mind to be overpowered by his bodily ailments, to learn from one who writes with authority that his was "one more instance of the triumph of mind over our body" (see p. 37).

Almost immediately after Coleridge went to the Gillmans, Charles Leslie, the celebrated artist, lately arrived from America, but subsequently a Royal Academician, visited him and drew his portrait (p. 16) as well as that of Mr. Gillman (p. 21). Leslie describes his reception in an interesting letter, dated June 3, 1816, from which the following is an extract:—"Mr. Coleridge is at present here; he has just published his poem of 'Cristabel.' He lives at Highgate (about three miles from us) in a most delightful family. He requested me to sketch his face, which I did, out there, and by that means became acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Gillman, who are a sort of people that you become intimate with at once. They have invited me in the most friendly manner to visit them at all times, and to spend weeks with them.

* De Quincey's Works, ed. Masson, V., 208.

† "Life of Coleridge," by James Gillman, p. 275 *(note)*.

There are some beautiful scenes about Highgate, and I shall in future make it my resort for landscape studies. Mrs. Gillman has a very fine face, and she will sit to me whenever I wish. She is a very excellent, charming woman ; and to do the English justice, I believe hers is not an uncommon character among them." *

It was indeed a happy ending for Coleridge's life that during his last eighteen years he found so restful a home. Both host and hostess were devoted to their guest and all his friends were welcomed at their hospitable house. The storm-tossed man at last found peace. He still suffered in body and was troubled by want of money, but he was at anchor and on the whole the end of his life may be said to have been happy. Coleridge was never tired of expressing his sense of the deep obligations he was under to this worthy couple.

Their grandson has done well to bring into prominence some of the incidents relating to those who must always be held in the highest esteem by the lovers of Coleridge—a class which is daily increasing—and he has added to the interest of his work by the insertion of the various portraits and views which are of original value.

* Leslie's "Autobiographical Recollections," edited by Tom Taylor, 1860, Vol. II., p. 50.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAIT OF JAMES GILLMAN, Surgeon, from an Oil Painting in the possession of the Author . . . . . *Frontispiece.*

PAGE

THE GROVE, HIGHGATE, showing the Church of St. Michael and No. 3, James Gillman's house, where Coleridge lived the latter years of his life and died. Drawn by *Sulman* 5

VIEW OF "MORETON HOUSE," the residence of James Gillman when S. T. Coleridge first came to live with him in 1816 . *Facing* 6

VIEW OF THE BACK OF MR. GILLMAN'S HOUSE IN THE GROVE, HIGHGATE, showing the roof raised in order to make the Study for S. T. Coleridge. From a drawing made by *Amelia Boyce* in the year 1835. Now in the possession of the Author . . . *Facing* 8

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. From a Portrait by *Dawe, R.A.* (1812) in possession of the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge. Etched by *Lowenstam*. Kindly lent for this Work by Mr. J. H. Lloyd, of Highgate . . . . . *Facing* 10

BUST OF S. T. COLERIDGE. From a Cast taken after death, by the direction of James Gillman, Surgeon. Now in the possession of Alex. W. Gillman . . . . . *Facing* 13

COLERIDGE'S STUDY and the room in which he died in Mr. Gillman's house . . . . . *Facing* 14

S. T. COLERIDGE. From a Sketch by *Chas. R. Leslie, R.A.*, in 1816. Now in the possession of the Author . . . . . *Facing* 16

JAMES GILLMAN, Surgeon. From a Sketch by *Chas. R. Leslie, R.A.*, in 1816. A companion picture to the preceding one of Coleridge . *Facing* 21

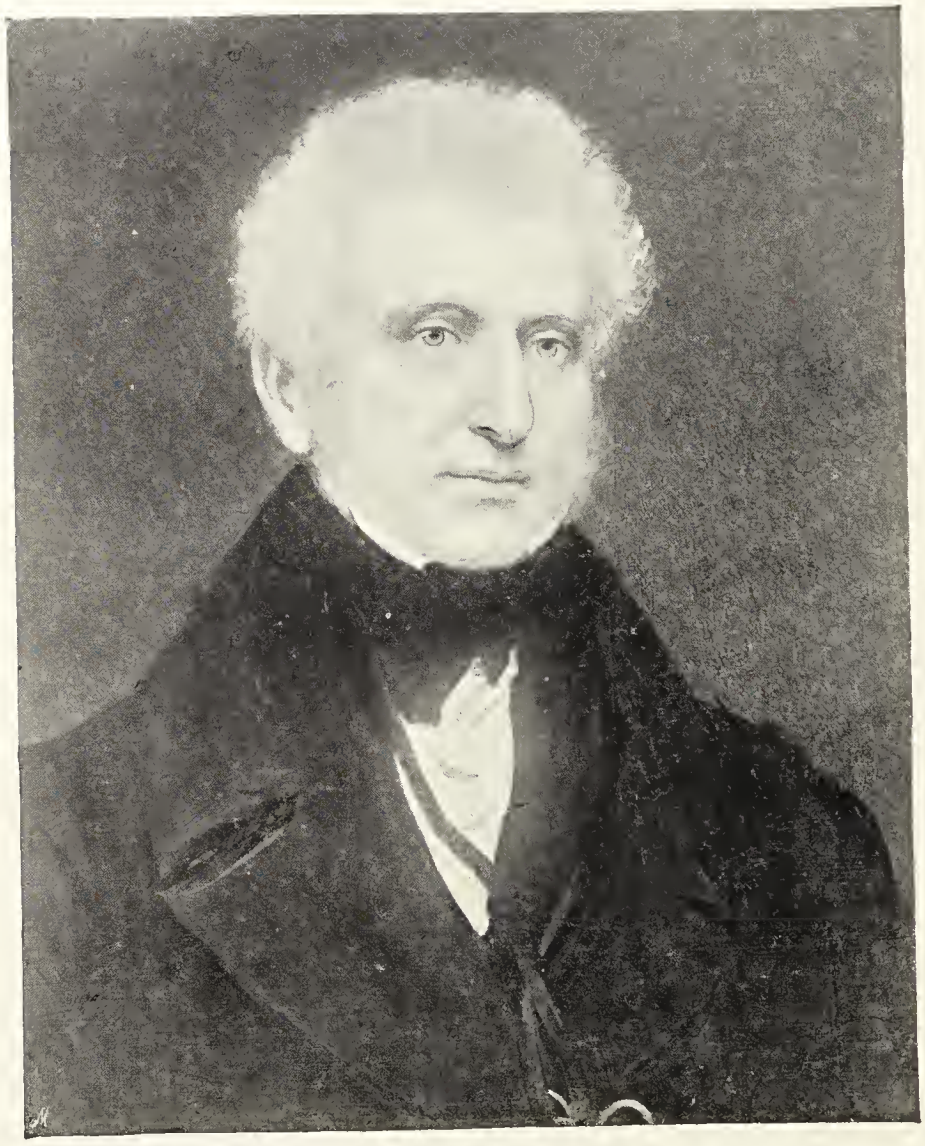
MRS. ANN GILLMAN. From an Oil Painting by *Maria Spilsbury*. Now in the possession of Mrs. Henry G. Watson, of Great Staughton Vicarage, Hunts . . . . . *Facing* 24

MRS. ANN GILLMAN, the Widow of James Gillman, Surgeon. From a Pastel Drawing by *Amelia Boyce*. In the possession of her grandson, Alex. W. Gillman . . . . . *Facing* 26

BARFREYSTONE CHURCH, KENT . . . . . *Facing* 30

THE REV. JAMES GILLMAN, B.C.L. From a Painting by *Norman Macbeth, A.R.S.A.* . . . . . *Facing* 32

PORTRAIT OF S. T. COLERIDGE as a young man. From an Oil Painting, believed to be by *Miss Matilda Betham*. Now the property of Alex. W. Gillman . . . . . *Facing* 35



JAMES GILLMAN, Surgeon,

"The Friend of S. T. COLERIDGE."

(From an Oil Painting in the possession of Alex. W. Gillman.)



The Grove, Highgate.

THE GILLMANS OF HIGHGATE.

Letters of S. T. Coleridge.

JAMES GILLMAN, the well-known surgeon of Highgate (grandfather of the author of this work) was born at Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, and baptised in the Parish Church of that town on the 7th of July, 1782.

He was the eldest surviving son of John Gilman and Elizabeth Bracey of Great Yarmouth, who were married on March 15th, 1777, at the Parish Church of that town. John Gilman subsequently married Frances Keymer, the daughter of a surgeon at Norwich, and dying at Heigham, near Norwich, in January, 1821, was buried at St. Peter's

Church, Norwich, January 15th, 1821. James Gillman acquired his first knowledge and taste for surgery from Mr. Keymer, having been probably articled to that gentleman, but after his father's second marriage, he came up to London, and supporting himself, completed his medical and surgical training at the Westminster Hospital and at the Royal College of Surgeons, where he obtained in the year 1811 the prize for his essay on the "Bite of a Rabid Animal," which was subsequently published, being dedicated to Anthony Carlisle, F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the Royal Academy and Surgeon to the Westminster Hospital, who wrote an appendix to the same.

James Gillman married on the 18th July, 1807, at St. George's, Hanover Square, London, Anne Harding, daughter of James Harding, Esq.

He settled at Highgate, where he practised as a surgeon, and soon became well known for his medical skill, not only in that suburban village, but also in London, to which he was frequently called in important consultations.

He first lived on Highgate Hill, but afterwards removed to No. 3 in The Grove, the house being the central one in the illustration heading this chapter. A view of the back of the house, showing the room which he raised in the roof for the study of the Poet Coleridge, is given opposite page 8. The latter engraving is from a drawing in the writer's possession, made by Amelia Boyce, in the year 1835, and now published for the first time.

His acquaintance with the Poet and Philosopher, S. T. Coleridge, which has made the name of James Gillman as world-wide known as that of his inmate, guest and friend, began in the year 1816 in this wise.

Coleridge, in order to allay the pain of a disease, had acquired the habit of 'opium eating' in the form of taking large doses of laudanum. The vice became one of which he could not break himself, and at the age of forty-three he at last perceived that his only hope of



"Moreton House," Highgate,

The residence of James Gillman, Surgeon, when S. T. Coleridge first came to reside with him in 1816.

redemption lay in a voluntary submission of his enfeebled will to the control of others, and he had apparently just strength of volition to form and execute the necessary resolve. He appears, in the first instance, to have consulted a physician of the name of Adams, who, on the 9th of April, 1816, put himself in communication with Mr. Gillman of Highgate. "A very learned, but in one respect an unfortunate gentleman, has," he wrote, "applied to me on a singular occasion. He has for several years been in the habit of taking large quantities of opium. For some time past he has been in vain endeavouring to break himself of it. It is apprehended his friends are not firm enough, from a dread lest he should suffer by suddenly leaving it off, though he is conscious of the contrary, and has proposed to me to submit himself to any regimen, however severe. With this view he wishes to fix himself in the house of some medical gentleman who will have the courage to refuse him any laudanum, and under whose assistance, should he be the worse for it, he may be relieved." Would such a proposal, inquires the writer, be absolutely inconsistent with Mr. Gillman's family arrangements? He would not, he adds, have proposed it "but on account of the great importance of the character as a literary man. His communicative temper will make his society very interesting as well as useful." Mr. Gillman's acquaintance with Dr. Adams was but slight, and he had had no previous intention of receiving an inmate into his house. But the case very naturally interesting him, he sought an interview with Dr. Adams, and it was agreed that the latter should drive Coleridge to Highgate the following evening. At the appointed hour, on the 10th of April, 1816, however, Coleridge presented himself alone, and, after spending the evening at Mr. Gillman's, left him, as, even in his then condition, he left most people who met him for the first time, completely captivated by the amiability of his manners and the charm of his conversation. The next day Mr. Gillman received from him a letter, finally settling the arrangement to place himself under the doctor's care, and on the following Monday Coleridge presented himself at Mr. Gillman's, bringing in his hand the proof sheets of 'Christabel,' now printed for the first time.*

* Mr. Traill's "Coleridge."

"From his ninth year Coleridge had been a wanderer and a sojourner, finding 'no city to dwell in,' and now, when he was at his wits' end, tossed in a sea of troubles, the waves suddenly stilled, and he felt that he had reached his desired haven. His first sight of the Gillmans seems to have convinced him of this, and his prescience was justified, for during the eighteen years of life that remained to him their house was his home."*

A cool and peaceful evening after the storms of a hot and feverish day. Here, on the brow of Highgate Hill, to quote Carlyle, "he sat, looking down on London and its smoke-tumult, like a sage escaped from the inanity of life's battle; attracting towards him the thoughts of innumerable brave souls still engaged there,—a heavy-laden, high-aspiring, and surely much suffering man."

He began his residence at The Grove, Highgate, simply as a temporary patient, but before three months had passed he was inspired to write thus to a recent acquaintance who had done him a kindness:—

"If I omitted this due acknowledgment, I should think myself less deserving of the fortunate state of convalescence, and tranquil, yet active impulses, which, under Providence, I owe to the unrelaxed attention, the professional skill, and above all to the continued firmness and affectionateness of the medical friend whose housemate I have been for the last three months, *and shall, I trust, continue to be indefinitely.*"†

The following account of Coleridge's life at Highgate is taken from Professor A. Brandl's "Life of Coleridge":—

"The Gillmans gave our poet a more luxurious refuge at Highgate than he had had with the kind Morgans at Hammersmith. They were then living at No. 3 in The Grove and had a portion of the roof raised in order to gain a room where he could place his great book chests and

* "Life of S. T. Coleridge," by Mr. J. Dykes Campbell. 1894.

† Letter to John Gale, 8th July, 1816, "Lippingcott's Magazine," June, 1874.



The Grove, Highgate.

THE RESIDENCE OF JAMES GILLMAN, ESQ., SURGEON.

SHOWING THE ROOF RAISED FOR S. T. COLERIDGE, POET.

work undisturbed. His windows overlooked—and overlook still—a beautiful view of the Nightingale Valley, with the green heights behind, the shady walks and half-hidden villas of Hampstead. In the depth to the left lies the great metropolis—through the smoky cloud of which many a soaring tower is visible; while the sky spreads forth all the rich colours of the Western sun. The Gillmans' manner towards him was all that was sensible and hearty. Their granddaughter, Mrs. Henry Watson (St. Leonard's Vicarage, Tring), who admitted me with utmost kindness to the family traditions, possesses portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Gillman—he with brown eyes and hair and manly expression; she, a pretty blonde, with rosy cheeks and blue eyes. It is easy to understand that with these good people Coleridge felt himself at home for eighteen long years. Mr. Gillman had an extensive practice; still he found time to enter gladly and eagerly into the philosophical discussions of his guest. Before this (as we have seen) he had written, in a professional way, "A Dissertation on the Bite of a Rabid Animal." Now he turned to Schelling's comprehensive speculations, and worked out, in conjunction with Coleridge, a 'Theory of Life' (printed 1848), seeking in it an idea of life capable of being enrolled in the sphere of natural science. Mrs. Gillman was a good listener, but first and foremost she was an excellent manager; their servants remained with them for years. She was proud of ministering to the happiness of the celebrated and much-to-be-pitied poet: nor did she forget the ornaments of life, and had always some of his favourite plants—geraniums and myrtles—in his room. No opium entered the house unless prescribed by the doctor for very severe pains. On the other hand, relations and friends were welcomed at all times. Mrs. Coleridge came for Christmas, 1822, and after that maintained a confidential correspondence with Mrs. Gillman, in so far an advantage to her husband, who, when he did venture to open her letters, was usually dispirited for days. Lamb dined with them almost every Sunday. Strangers also, from all parts, anxious to know Coleridge, were readily introduced. It would take long to enumerate the names of those who sought him; from that of Emerson, the brilliant American essayist, to that of Joseph Green, the celebrated surgeon, who acted almost the part of an amanuensis; from Hookham

Frere, the refined ex-minister and Byron's humorous precursor, to the naïve and often over-enthusiastic Thomas Allsop, who would willingly have played the part of a Boswell if he had had the talent for it. Dressed all in black, as he moved through house and garden, Coleridge might have been taken for a clergyman. He shared his breakfast with the birds, and his knowledge with his friends, without greatly concerning himself about either class of guest. On being asked by Gillman's son (afterwards the Rev. James Gillman, B.C.L. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford), for help in a school exercise, he was known to give him a lecture an hour long on the profoundest principles of the subject, beginning from our first parents, till the boy took care not to apply to him again. He would still also from time to time discourse so enchantingly, that the whole circle of visitors sat silent, and hung more or less bewitched on his words. The trembling of his limbs, it is true, did not cease; his gait remained unsteady, and the habit of walking first on one side of his companion and then on the other, which Hazlitt had remarked even at Stowey, never left him. But the tottering limbs became rounder, the large grey eye and full lips retained a childlike expression, and his luxuriant white hair was like a crown of honour. Wherever he appeared, whether in the flowery fields or woods of Highgate, old and young took off their hats.

"It is well known how Keats—already with the seeds of consumption in him—addressed him on such an occasion with gushing veneration, and asked to be allowed to press his hand. Coleridge never quitted this refuge for long. He went regularly every summer to the nearest seaside—Ramsgate—and once, in 1828, when the Gillmans were in Paris, he accompanied Wordsworth on a visit of three weeks to the Rhine. Otherwise he remained faithful to his beautiful Highgate, where the clock of the Gothic church struck the hours of his increasing age, and where he lived to the last in dignified leisure."*

"From 1820 onwards the house of Mr. Gillman had gradually acquired a unique distinction, as a rallying-point for intellectual activity. The residence of Coleridge with the Gillmans drew to

* "Life of Coleridge," by Prof. Alois Brandl, translated by Lady Eastlake.



S. T. Coleridge.

Highgate many men and women who were celebrated in their several walks. One day a week or oftener there gathered about Coleridge a select band of young men, who looked up to him as to a 'master.' Among them were Edward Irving, Frederick Denison Maurice, Arthur H. Hallam, Joseph Henry Green, Julius Hare and Coleridge's nephew, H. N. Coleridge. Men of an older generation often joined this weekly gathering, and of these there was Basil Montagu, whose estrangement from Coleridge in 1811 did not forbid a genial social intercourse. Charles Lamb was often of the circle, and, on rare occasions of their visits to London, Wordsworth and John Wilson were at Highgate. It does not appear that Shelley ever met Coleridge at Mr. Gillman's or elsewhere, and this was probably due, not to any lack of appreciation on Shelley's part, for he described him as 'a hooded eagle among blinking owls,' but to the circumstance that Shelley's circle among poets was that of Leigh Hunt; and after 1817 the editor of *The Examiner* could hardly be a welcome guest or sincere disciple where Coleridge was practically in the position of the honoured host and prophet."

"Coleridge's attractions as a talker were great, but in the days at Highgate they were probably at their best. The only satisfying record of Coleridge's powers in conversation is the volume of 'Table Talk,' collected by H. N. Coleridge, from the end of 1822 to the middle of July, 1834."*

Lord Hatherley has given us some interesting notes of the conversation of Coleridge:—

"During the last year and a half of my study for the Bar I had also received much kindness from the late Basil Montagu, Esq., and his admirable wife. I had been allowed free access to their home in Bedford Square on any evening I thought fit to go, when it was their custom to receive those who had this privilege from eight to ten. Thursday was the only day on which these receptions did not take place, for every Thursday evening was spent by Mr. and Mrs. Montagu at Highgate, in the company of Coleridge. I had the privilege,

* Mr. Hall Caine.



Bust of S. T. COLERIDGE,

From a Cast taken after death, by the direction of James Gillman, Surgeon, now in the possession of Alex. W. Gillman.

Sacred to the Memory
of
Samuel Taylor Coleridge,
Poet, Philosopher, Theologian.
This truly great and good man resided,
For the last nineteen years of his life,
In this hamlet.
He quitted "the body of this death"
July 25th, 1834,
In the sixty-second year of his age.
Of his profound learning and discursive genius
His literary works are an imperishable record;
To his private worth,
His social and Christian virtues,
James and Ann Gillman,
The friends with whom he resided
During the above period, dedicate this tablet.
Under the pressure of a long
And most painful disease
His disposition was unalterably sweet and angelic;
He was an ever-during, ever-loving friend,
The gentlest and kindest teacher,
The most engaging home companion.

"O framed for calmer times and nobler hearts!
O studious poet, eloquent for truth!
Philosopher contemning wealth and death,
Yet docile, childlike, full of life and love,
Here on this monumental stone thy friends inscribe thy worth."

Reader! for the world mourn.
A light has passed away from the earth;
But for this pious and exalted Christian
Rejoice, and again I say unto you, rejoice.

Ubi
Thesaurus,
Ibi
Cor
S. T. C.

faithful observance. It is true that De Quincey said that "Coleridge never conquered his evil habit;" true, too, that irresponsible persons have alleged that down to his death Coleridge continued to obtain supplies of laudanum surreptitiously from a chemist in the Tottenham Court Road; but the burden of proof is in favour of Mr. Gillman's clear assurance that the habit *was* eventually overcome, and this assurance has just received unexpected confirmation. The report was that the doctor's boy procured Coleridge the drug when he went to Town weekly for other medicines. This boy—a boy no longer, but now one of the oldest inhabitants of Highgate—a quiet, truthful, much-respected man, Mr. Thomas Taylor, until lately a shoemaker in the North Road—states that he lived a long while with Mr. Gillman, "that he *never* procured any opium for Mr. Coleridge, nor did he ever hear of his alleged habit of taking it;" but he added, "He was a great consumer of snuff, and I used to bring him a pound of *Irish blackguard* (his favourite snuff) at a time, with which he smothered himself." *

With respect to the second inaccurate statement it is true that in that first letter to Mr. Gillman, Coleridge stated, in these terms, the condition on which he proposed to become an inmate of his house: "With respect to pecuniary remuneration, allow me to say I must not at least be suffered to make any addition to your family expenses, that I cannot offer anything that would be in any way adequate to my sense of the service; for that indeed there could not be a compensation, as it must be returned in kind, by esteem and grateful affection."

There is no doubt that when Coleridge came to Highgate as a resident patient to be cured of opium eating, it was his intention to make some 'pecuniary remuneration,' and on that expression in his letter is based the very objectionable and inaccurate remark in a foot note of Mr. Hall Caine's "Life of Coleridge," that "he paid for board and lodging at Gillman's from 1816 to 1834."† The writer of this book was more than once told by his father, the Rev. James Gillman

* "The History of Highgate," by Mr. John H. Lloyd.

† Mr. Hall Caine's "Life of Coleridge," page 108.

(the eldest son of James Gillman of Highgate), but who died previous to the publication of Mr. Hall Caine's book, that though Coleridge might possibly at first have contributed something as a return for the medical care and advice which he received, he practically lived as a guest at the invitation of Mr. Gillman for those eighteen years.* Besides which many of his friends were weekly entertained at dinner, &c., no doubt to the great pleasure and edification of his host and hostess, who, in addition, endeavoured to relieve Coleridge as far as possible of all anxiety concerning his petty expenses.†

It could not be otherwise, for Coleridge had no means or income out of which to make any 'pecuniary remuneration,' though the writer's father has said that probably with that indifference to mundane affairs with which most real geniuses are blest, he may, and probably was under the impression that he did make this remuneration, from which happy frame of mind Mr. Gillman, who was celebrated for his kindness to all poor and badly off patients, no doubt never disillusioned the poet. As Mr. Hall Caine himself says in another place: "The Gillmans were attached to him by every tie of esteem and love, and the day must have been dark for them in which they could have beclouded Coleridge's life with one thought of his pecuniary indebtedness."

Coleridge's pecuniary circumstances may be judged from the following extract from Mr. J. Dykes Campbell's "Life of Coleridge," page 242 :—

"And yet in this spring of 1819 he (Coleridge) must have been in desperate need of money, for he had been unable to make any remittance to his wife out of the net proceeds of his lectures, and the fund for sending Derwent to College was still incomplete. Next, in the summer time, came the bankruptcy of Rest Fenner.

* It must be borne in mind that the Rev. James Gillman lived in his father's house after leaving the University of Oxford for several years prior to Coleridge's death, and must have been well acquainted with his father's private affairs. He was probably the only one who could have known the facts of the case and "the secret jealously guarded by his (Coleridge's) generous hosts," as Mr. Ernest H. Coleridge puts it in a note on the subject in his recent work. His evidence is therefore almost indisputable, as all modern biographers of Coleridge, including even his grandson, could not even have ever seen Coleridge or his host, James Gillman.

† The same facts were also frequently stated to the author by Dr. Seth B. Watson, the editor of Coleridge's "Theory of Life," published in 1848.



SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE,

POET AND PHILOSOPHER.

(From a Drawing by C. R. Leslie, R.A., in the possession of the Author.)

"All the profits from the sale of my writings (writes Coleridge to Allsop) which I should have had, and which, in spite of the accumulated disadvantages under which the works were published, would have been considerable, 'I have lost; and not only so, but have been obliged, at a sum larger than all the profits of my lectures, to purchase myself my own books, and the half copyrights . . . I have withdrawn them from sale.'"

And again, on page 248:—"Out of the dead-lock he (Coleridge) can discern but one way—it is not a new one—that a few friends 'who think respectfully and hope highly of his powers and attainments' should subscribe for three or four years an annuity of about £200. Two-thirds of his time would be tranquilly devoted to the bringing out of the four minor works, one after the other; the remainder to the completion of the Great Work 'and my *Christabel*, and what else the happier hour might inspire.' Towards this scheme Mr. Green has offered £30 to £40 yearly; another young friend and pupil £50; and he thinks he can rely on £10 to £20 from another. Will Allsop advise him? he asks, and decide if without 'moral degradation' the statement now made, but in a compressed form, might be circulated among the right sort of people?"

It is true that for five years from 1825 to 1830, Coleridge received a pension from George IV.'s private purse of 100 guineas per annum, but that ceased on the king's death. This sum, and what little he earned from his lectures, writings and books, which latter, owing to the unfortunate failure of his publisher,* was not much, was probably all required for the support of his wife. It was not till after Coleridge's death that his writings were appreciated and that there was much sale for them, with, perhaps, the exception of the "Aids to Reflection." There was an annual payment of £26. 5s. 6d., which Coleridge had to make on his life insurance policy, to meet which he often had to borrow the money from his friends.† This life policy realised £2,560 on Coleridge's death, which went to his widow.‡

* On May 8th, 1825, Coleridge writes to his nephew concerning his publisher, "I trusted him, and lost £1,100 *clear*, and was forced to borrow £150 in order to buy up my own books and half copyrights, a shock which has embarrassed me in debt (thank God, to one person only) even to this amount."—Prof. Alois Brandl's "Life of Coleridge," page 353.

† See Mr. Dykes Campbell's "Life of Coleridge," page 211. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 279.

The payment of this pension of 100 guineas per annum was stopped after 1830, whereupon Mr. Gillman wrote the following letter to the *Times*, which appeared in the issue of that paper on June 4, 1831 :—

"Sir,—In consequence of a paragraph which appeared in the *Times* of this day, I think it is expedient to state the fact respecting Mr. Coleridge as it actually is. On the sudden suppression of the Royal Society of Literature, with the extinction of the honours and annual honoraria of the Royal Associateships, a representation in Mr. Coleridge's behalf was made to Lord Brougham, who promptly and kindly recommended the case to Lord Grey's consideration. The result of the application was, that a sum of £200, the one moiety to be received forthwith, and the other the year following, by a private grant from the Treasury, was placed at Mr. Coleridge's acceptance; but he felt it his duty most respectfully to decline it, though with every grateful acknowledgment, of the prompt and courteous attention which his case had received from their Lordships.

"I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

"James Gillman.

"Highgate, June 3."

Stuart, however, wrote to King William's son, the Earl of Munster, pointing out the hardship entailed on Coleridge, whom he describes as old and infirm, and without other means of subsistence. He begs the Earl to lay the matter before his royal father. To this a prompt reply came, excusing the King on account of his 'very reduced income,' but promising that the matter shall be submitted to His Majesty.

Since the foregoing pages were written and in type, a very kind acknowledgment of the hospitality Coleridge received at Highgate has been made by Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, the poet's grandson, in his new work, "The Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge." The following extract is taken from a notice of the book in the *Daily News* of April 27, 1895, and gives also the reviewer's remarks.

"Finally Coleridge was destined to find such help as all his failings required at the hands of the Gillmans, who, in 1816, took him into their house at Highgate, and kept him there to the end of his days, an honoured and a cherished guest. His present editor shows a becoming sense of the family obligation to that most worthy pair:

'With Coleridge's name and memory must ever be associated the names of James and Anne Gillman. It was beneath the shelter of their friendly roof that he spent the last eighteen years of his life, and it was to their wise and loving care that the comparative fruitfulness and well-being of those years were due. They thought themselves honoured by his presence, and he repaid their devotion with unbounded love and gratitude. Friendship and loving kindness followed Coleridge all the days of his life. What did he not owe to Poole, to Southey for his noble protection of his family, to the Morgans for their long-tried faithfulness and devotion to himself? But to the Gillmans he owed the "crown of his cup and garnish of his dish," a welcome which lasted till the day of his death. Doubtless there were chords in his nature which were struck for the first time by these good people, and in their presence and by their help he was a new man. But, for all that, their patience must have been inexhaustible, their loyalty unimpeachable, their love indestructible. Such friendship is rare and beautiful and merits a most honourable remembrance.'

"And Coleridge himself expressed his gratitude, towards the close of his life, in one of the finest letters in these volumes:*

'1830.

'Dear Mrs. Gillman,—Wife of the friend who has been more than a brother to me, and who have month after month, yea, hour after hour, for how many successive years, united in yourself the affections and offices of an anxious friend and tender sister to me-ward! May the Father of Mercies, the God of Health and all Salvation, be your reward for your great and constant love and loving kindness to

* The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. Henry Watson (late of St. Leonard's Vicarage, Tring, Herts), granddaughter of Mrs. Gillman and sister to the compiler of this book.

me, abiding with you and within you, as the Spirit of guidance, support, and consolation! And may His Grace and gracious Providence bless James and Henry for your sake, and make them a blessing to you and their father. And though weighed down by a heavy presentiment respecting my own sojourn here, I not only hope but have a steadfast faith that God will be your reward, because your love to me, from first to last has begun in, and been caused by, what appeared to you a translucence of the love of the good, the true, and the beautiful from within me,—as a relic of glory gleaming through the turbid shrine of my mortal imperfections and infirmities, as a Light of Life seen within "the body of this Death,"—because in loving me you loved our Heavenly Father reflected in the gifts and influences of His Holy Spirit.

'S. T. COLERIDGE.'

"Who will give us a set of biographies of the great friends of great men—the Gillmans, the Unwins, the Abneys? Coleridge was relieved of all care. The most famous people came from all parts to listen to the outpourings of his wonderful mind—not always with a becoming tenderness and reverence, as we know by the memorable example of Carlyle. In 1834, still in the same harbour of refuge, he gently passed away." *

In the year 1827 Mr. Gillman undertook, in conjunction with Mr. Jameson, a friend of Hartley Coleridge's and the husband of Mrs. Jameson, the well-known writer on Art, to superintend for Coleridge an edition of his Poems, to be published by Pickering. This edition was published in 1828 in three volumes (though it was advertised to appear in four), and only three hundred copies were printed, which were all sold before October in that year.†

* *Daily News*, April 27, 1895.

† Mr. Ernest H. Coleridge, in a note to his "Letters of S. T. Coleridge," page 658, says that Mr. Gillman received the profits of this edition, and refers, no doubt, as his authority to a letter written by S. T. Coleridge to Mr. Stuart, editor of the *Morning Post*, on Feb. 24, 1827, which is published in Mr. J. Dykes Campbell's "Life of Coleridge," on page 263 of that book. The wording of this letter does not fairly seem to imply this meaning; it only states, "That is to say, I have given all these poems, as far as this edition is concerned, to Mr. Gillman," he having, in conjunction with Mr. Jameson, "undertaken to superintend the edition." If Mr. Gillman had received any profits from these 300 copies it would undoubtedly have been known in the Gillman family, and the surviving descendants would have heard of the same, which they never have. (See Note on page 16.)

As has already been mentioned, many were the literary men of the day who received invitations to Mr. Gillman's house. Amongst others invited by Coleridge was Mr. Daniel Stuart, the editor of the *Morning Post*, who received the following letter, dated May 13th, 1816, in which Coleridge freely expresses his opinion of his host and hostess:*

"Mr. and Mrs. Gillman will be happy to have you share in our family dinner, and if you will come early I can lead you round some most delicious walks. You will like Mr. Gillman. He is a man of a strong, fervid, and agile intellect, with such a master passion for *Truth*, that his most abstracted Verities assume a character of Veracity. And his excellent Wife it must be impossible not to love and respect, if a *Balance* and Harmony of powers and qualities *unified*, and spiritualized by a native feminine *Fineness* of character, render womanhood amiable and respectable. I have known many persons whose characters are so far harmonized that their faults are balanced by counteracting virtues, and *vice versâ:* but in this woman it is a Balance of Positives, of Virtues modified by Virtues. In serious truth, I have ample reason to be most grateful to Providence for the chance (and chance it mainly was which placed me under their friendly Roof), and the Hope already dawns purple on my mental eye, and as it were minutely spreads and deepens its Lights of Promise, themselves not only Pledges, but portions and precursors of the Brightness promised, that Mr. Gillman both as companionable Friend, and as skilful and thinking Physician, will restore to his natural self.

"Your obliged and affec^te^ f^d^ S. T. COLERIDGE."

After living in Mr. and Mrs. Gillman's house for more than *thirteen* years Coleridge expresses himself further concerning his friends:

"October 20th, 1829.

"Of our fellow men we are bound to judge comparatively—of ourselves only, by the *ideal*. Now verily, judging comparatively I

* This letter, in a shorter and somewhat different form, is given in Mr. Ernest H. Coleridges' "Letters of S. T. Coleridge," ii. 665, from which it is reprinted in this book on page 23, but since that page was printed another copy of the original letter has come into the author's hands, which he has deemed it right to give as well. The letters, &c., on this and the two following pages have also, with the foregoing, at the moment of issuing this work, been furnished to the compiler by Mrs. H. G. Watson, of Great Staughton Vicarage, Hunts, and are here printed by the kind permission of Mr. Ernest H. Coleridge, the owner of the copyright of S. T. Coleridge's Letters.

never did know the Master and Mistress of a Household, and the Household in consequence so estimable and so amiable as the Gillman's! The general Hospitality, without the least *self*-indulgence, or *self*-respecting expenses, compared with their income; the respectability and even elegance of all the appearances; the *centrality* to whatever is good and love-worthy in the whole neighbourhood, old and young; the attachment and cheerfulness of the servants, and the innocence and high tone of principle which reign throughout, would really be a very unusual combination, even though Mrs. Gillman herself had been a less finely natured and lady-like Being than she is. Would to God that I had Health and Opportunity to add 5 or 6 hundred a year to remove all anxious thoughts,—and that I could but render it possible and advisable for dear Mr. Gillman to have a two months' tour whither he liked every year! God bless them! "S. T. C."

The evenings at Highgate were brightened, not only with Literary and Philosophic conversation of the highest order, but also with the sister art, Music, which elicits these remarks in one of Coleridge's letters:

"1824. What seems to me wanting in our fashionable vocal music is *Eloquence*. As oratory is Passion in the service of Reason, so should vocal music be Passion connective in the service of Passion—*Precipitandus est liber spiritus*. If there were as much Spirit and Liberty, as Feeling and Sweetness in her singing, Mrs. Gillman would excel to my judgment all the singers I have ever heard. Oratory—Passion in the service of Reasoning fusing the Links of connection, so as to soften away the Angles, and fill up the interspaces without destroying the distinctness. Vocal Music—Connection in the service of Passion, giving it at once order and Progression. "S. T. C."

Of Mrs. Gillman's other gifts Coleridge penned this beautiful description in 1832, as a note to his Poem, entitled "Inscription for a fountain on a Heath":

"This fountain is an exact emblem of what Mrs. Gillman was by Nature, and still would be, if the exhaustion by casualties and anxious duties, and hope surviving hopes, had not been too, too disproportionate to the 'tiny' tho' never-failing spring of reproductive life at the botton of the pure Basin. No Drouth, no impurity from

without, no alien ingredient in its own composition, it was indeed a Crystal Fount of Water undefiled. But the demand has been beyond the supply! the exhaustion in merciless disproportion to the reproduction! But God be praised! it is immortal, and will shoot all its bright column of living Waters, where its God will be the Sun, whose light reflects! and its place in Christ, the containing and protecting Basin."*

In the following year, being the year before Coleridge's death, he writes to the Rev. James Gillman, his host's eldest son, then recently ordained, in a letter of good counsel and advice, these words:—

"That your Father is the Friend of a most important portion of my Life, and your Mother a most dear and holy name to me, a blessing which plays like an auspicious flame on my nightly sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. "S. T. C."

One of the last of Coleridge's expressions of gratitude to and appreciation of his "Friends" is to be found in the following letter sent with a New Years gift to Mrs. Dinah Knowe, probably the wife or mother of Knowe, for many years Mr. Gillman's coachman:

"January 1st, 1834.

"I have it not in my power nor is it within my means to offer anything fit to be called a New Years Gift, but I hope that Dinah Knowe will accept the enclosed trifle, as an acknowledgment of her late dutiful and affectionate attentions to Mr. Gillman during his illness, and no less to her dear Mistress, the best of good women, Mrs. Gillman. From Mr. and Mrs. Gillman's Friend and Housemate,

"S. T. COLERIDGE."

There are some letters addressed to Coleridge which he desired should be preserved as testimonies to the worth of his "Friends;" amongst others is one from Allston, the American artist, who painted and presented to Coleridge the picture of the Horse Fair in Spain, mentioned in Emerson's Visit to Highgate, wherein the latter relates the anecdote of the celebrated picture dealer and connoisseur, Montague, mistaking the painting for an original Titian. †

* The original of this Note is in the possession of Mrs. Henry G. Watson.

† This Painting is now in the Author's possession.

Allston writes to Coleridge, October 5, 1816:

"Pray tell Mr. and Mrs. Gillman how grateful I feel for their kindness. Mrs. G. has a gentleness and delicacy of feeling, which so temper her inflexible love of *right* that it is impossible not to love virtue in her. And in Mr. G. I have found strength of mind and manly integrity which command both my respect and esteem. You who know me know how I *must* appreciate them."

Leslie the artist, afterwards Professor of Painting to the Royal Academy, who sketched the portraits of Coleridge and James Gillman given in this work, writes to Coleridge, probably in the year 1816, when he made those drawings, and to which he refers:

"I forgot to ask you if you would like to have the sketch I made yesterday framed. I shall not attempt a copy of it, in which I am almost sure of not succeeding.

"Mrs. Gillman has in the kindest manner offered to sit again at any time, and as the pleasure I am sure she *always* takes in the act of obliging has removed in a great measure my apprehensions of being troublesome to her, I shall most gladly avail myself of so valuable a study as that of her features. While she was performing last night those beautiful Hymns, I watched her face (unobserved by her), and the recollection of some of its expressions, which were as heavenly as her voice, suggested to me the idea of painting a St. Cecilia.

"I am, Dear Sir, Yours devotedly,

"CHAS. R. LESLIE."

One more extract deserves to be here printed; it is from a letter by Dr. Anster, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Trinity College, Dublin:

"I never met a more true-hearted, single-minded, or genuine nature than Mr. Gillman's. The most entire frankness, plain dealing, open heartedness,—and this with the utmost delicacy and feeling in every movement of his mind.

"His devotion to Mr. Coleridge was but a manifestation of his general kindness, and I almost think some of Coleridge's sufferings and privations were providentially permitted that the world might be shewn such a lesson of faithful friendship as was taught in the relation of those two good men whose names must never be disunited."



JAMES GILLMAN, Esq.,

OF HIGHGATE, SURGEON.

(From a Drawing by C. R. Leslie, R.A., in the year 1816.*)*

In July, 1828, Mr. Gillman accompanied as their medical adviser the Duke and Duchess of St. Albans on a continental tour, visiting Paris and the principal cities of Belgium, &c. Of this tour, which of course was made by road, being before the existence of railways, he has left an interesting diary, addressed to his wife, which commenced as follows:—"This morning we started from Stratton Street (Piccadilly, London), at 20 minutes past 8 o'clock. The party consisted of the Duke and Duchess, who led the way in their Chariot and four in their usual rich liveries, next in order was a carriage and four much laden, in which was Lady D. K. and Miss G., next and last followed the Doctor's Carriage, a landau open and more desirable to me and therefore more pleasant in which was your humble Servt. with Miss G.'s brother with a servant appointed to me for my use. This cavalcade looked well for the morning was fine and promising, and so we proceeded down St. James Street, causing much gazing and admiration through the Park to the first stage, where the Duke's Horses left us and we proceeded with post-horses to Sittingbourne."

James Gillman commenced, in the year 1836, to write the "Life of Coleridge," which was to be completed in two volumes. The first volume was published in 1838, by William Pickering, London, but the second was never finished, the author some short time before his death, in the following year (1839), finding his health broken and his end probably drawing near, destroyed the materials for this volume, no doubt actuated to some extent by the delicate position in which he was placed in reference to Coleridge's family, in recording his life during the many years circumstances had compelled him to live under Mr. Gillman's roof. That this volume was nearly completed is shown from the fact that Pickering, the publisher, announced it as 'just ready,' and Mr. Prentiss, the American, speaks of the delight with which he heard portions of the second volume read to him by Mrs. Gillman.

James Gillman died in the year 1839, or five years after the decease of Coleridge, at Ramsgate, where he was buried, but a monument, similar in every respect to that which *he* erected to Coleridge in St. Michael's Church, Highgate, was placed on the

same wall near thereto, with the following inscription, which also records the death of his second son, Henry Anthony, and of his widow, Ann Gillman :—

Sacred
To the memory of
James Gillman surgeon
(The friend of S. T. Coleridge)
For many years an eminent practitioner
In this place.
He died at Ramsgate,
Where his remains are interred,
On 1st June, 1839,
In the 57 *year of his age.*
While on earth, his integrity of heart
And generosity of character
Gained the confidence and esteem of men,
His Christian faith has, we humbly trust,
Through the merits of the Saviour,
Obtained the promise of a better inheritance.

"Mercy! for praise—to be forgiven for fame
He asked, and hoped through Christ; do thou the same!"

Also of Henry Anthony his second son,
Who died May 31st 1858, *aged* 44,
And is interred in the adjacent Cemetery.

Also of Ann Gillman,
Widow of the above James
Died August 4th 1860 *aged* 81
Buried at Ramsgate.
A most devoted Wife and Mother, a firm friend,
A kind Neighbour, a sincere Christian.
Valete! sed non Æternum.

The memory of James Gillman, surgeon, lived long after his death amongst the poor of Highgate.

The author paid a visit to the church and hamlet about the year 1875, or nearly forty years after his death, and found (though the informants were not aware of the author's relationship) that the recollection of the various kindnesses and gratuitous medical care of the poor was still fresh in the memory of many, or had been told from parent to child.

He was honest and straightforward to a fault. During a 'high feud' which divided the parishioners of Highgate in 1822, on the question of whether the old chapel which had fallen into disrepair, belonged to the inhabitants or to the Governors of the Grammar School, Coleridge wrote as follows to a friend:—

"Our friend Gillman sees the factious nature and origin of the proceedings in so strong a light, and feels so indignantly, that I am constantly afraid of his honesty spirting out to his injury. If I had the craft of a Draughtsman, I would paint Gillman in the character of Honesty, levelling a pistol (with 'Truth' on the barrel) at Sutton, in the character of Modern Reform, and myself as a Dutch Mercury, with rod in hand, hovering aloft, and pouring water into the touch-hole. The superscription might be 'Pacification,' a little finely pronounced on the first syllable."

In a letter written to Mr. Daniel Stuart, the editor of the *Morning Post*, dated May 13, 1816, Coleridge says:—

"Mr. and Mrs. Gillman will be most happy to see you to share in a family dinner and spend the evening with us, and if you will come early I can show you some most delicious walks. You will like Mr. Gillman. He is a man of strong, fervid and agile intellect, with such a master passion for truth that his most abstracted verities assume a character of veracity. And his wife it will be impossible not to respect, if a balance and harmony of powers and qualities, unified and spiritualised by a native fineness of character, render womanhood amiable and respectable. In serious truth I have much reason to be

most grateful for the choice and chance which has placed me under their hospitable roof. I have no doubt that Mr. Gillman, as friend and as physician, will succeed in restoring me to my natural self." *

In "Coleridge's Letters, Conversations and Recollections," edited by Thomas Allsop, his hostess, Mrs. Ann Gillman is also several times mentioned.

In 1820 Coleridge writes:

"Mrs. Gillman, who has always felt a sort of lofty, yet refined, enthusiasm respecting the relations of an only sister to her brothers. Of all women I ever knew, Mrs. G. is the woman who seems to have been framed by Nature for a heroine is that rare species of love which subsists in a tri-unity of the heart, the moral sense, and the faculty, corresponding to what Spurzheim calls the organ of *ideality*. What in other women is *refinement* exists in her as by implication, and, *à fortiori*, in a native *fineness* of character. She often represents to my mind the best parts of the Spanish Santa Teresa, ladyhood of nature."

Again, in the same year:

"Before I opened your letter, or rather before I gave it to *my best sister, and, under God, best comforter,* to open, a heavy, a very heavy affliction came upon me with all the aggravations of surprise, sudden as a peal of thunder from a cloudless sky."

In the following year:

"In Mrs. Gillman I have always admired, what indeed I have found more or less an accompaniment of womanly excellence wherever found, a high opinion of her own sex comparatively, and a partiality for female society. I know that her strongest prejudices against individual men have originated in their professed disbelief of such a thing as female friendship, or in some similar brutish forgetfulness that woman is an immortal soul; and as to all parts of the female character, so chiefly and especially to the best, noblest, and highest—

* "Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge." Edited by Ernest H. Coleridge. London, 1895. Page 665.



Mrs. ANN GILLMAN,

OF HIGHGATE.

(From an Oil Painting on Copper by Maria Spilsbury.)

to the germs and yearnings of immortality in the man. I have much to say on this, and shall now say it with comfort, because I can think of it as a pure Question of Thought."

After a visit to Ramsgate for change of air, &c.:

"First, it will give you so much real pleasure to see my improved looks and how *very well* Mrs. Gillman has come back. I need not tell you, that your sister cannot be dearer to *you*—and you are no ordinary brother—than Mrs. Gillman is to me; and you will therefore readily understand me when I say, that I look at the manifest and (as it was gradual) I hope permanent change in her countenance, expression and motion, with a sort of *pride* of comfort."

In 1823 Coleridge describes an accident which befel his hostess:

"Mrs. Gillman, on stepping from my attic, slipt on the first step of a steep flight of nine high stairs, precipitated herself and fell head foremost on the fifth stair; and when at the piercing scream I rushed out, I found her lying on the landing place, her head at the wall. Even now the Image, and the Terror of the Image, blends with the recollection of the Past a strange expectancy, a fearful sense of a something still to come; and breaks in, and makes stoppages, as it were, in my Thanks to God for her providential escape. For an escape we must all think it, though the small bone of her left arm was broken, and her wrist sprained. She went without a light, though (Oh! the vanity of Prophecies, the sense of which can be established only by the proof of their uselessness) two nights before I had expostulated with her on this account with some warmth, having previously more than once remonstrated against it, on stairs not familiar and without carpeting."

The following beautiful and symbolical letter written to Mrs. Gillman on May 3, 1827, shows Coleridge's attachment and gratitude to her:—

"My Dear Friend,—I received and acknowledged your this morning's present both as plant and symbol, and with appropriate thanks and correspondent feeling. The rose is the pride of summer,

the delight and the beauty of our gardens ; the eglantine, the honeysuckle and the jasmine, if not so bright or so ambrosial, are less transient, creep nearer to us, clothe our walls, twine over our porch, and haply peep in at our chamber window, with the crested wren or linnet within the tufts wishing good morning to us. Lastly, the geranium passes the door, and in its hundred varieties, imitating now this, now that leaf, odour, blossom of the garden, still steadily retains its own *staid* character, its own sober and refreshing hue and fragrance.

"It deserves to be the inmate of the house, and with due attention and tenderness will live through the winter, grave yet cheerful, as an old family friend that makes up for the departure of gayer visitors in the leafless season.

"But none of these are the *myrtle !* In none of these, nor in all collectively, will the *myrtle* find a substitute. All together and joining with them all the aroma, the spices and the balsams of the hot-house, yet should they be a sad exchange for the *myrtle !* Oh, precious in its sweetness is the *rich* innocence of its snow-white blossoms ! And dear are they in remembrance ; but these may pass with the season, and while the myrtle plant or own myrtle plant remains unchanged, its blossoms are remembered the more to endear the faithful bearer ; yea, they survive invisibly in every *more than* fragrant leaf. As the flashing strains of the nightingale to the yearning murmurs of the dove, so the myrtle to the rose ! He who has once possessed and prized a genuine *myrtle* will rather *remember* it under the cypress tree than seek to *forget* it among the rose bushes of a paradise.

"God bless you, my dearest friend, and be assured that if death do not suspend memory and consciousness death itself will not deprive you of a faithful participator in all your hopes and fears, affections and solicitudes, in your unalterable*

S. T. Coleridge.

James Gillman, the surgeon, left two sons, James and Henry Anthony, the latter died unmarried on May 31, 1858, aged 44. He had no daughters.

* The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. Henry Watson (late of St. Leonard's Vicarage, Tring, Herts), the granddaughter of the Mrs. Gillman to whom the letter is addressed.



Mrs. ANN GILLMAN,

WIDOW OF JAMES GILLMAN, SURGEON,

OF THE GROVE, HIGHGATE.

James Gillman, junior, the eldest son, was born 8 Aug., 1808; he was sent by his father to Merchant Taylors' School in May, 1818, and became the Head Scholar and Monitor of that School. He was elected to St. John's College, Oxford, on 11th June, 1827, and took his degree, B.C.L., in 1831, becoming a Fellow of his College. He was ordained in the same year.

Coleridge writes on Dec. 15, 1831, to Mr. J. H. Green: "James Gillman has passed an unusually strict and long examination for ordination with great credit, and was selected by the Bishop to read the lessons in the service." *

In February, 1837, in the Chapel of the British Embassy, at Paris, he married Sophia Riley, daughter of Alexander Riley, Esq., of Euston Square, London, and the Burwood and Raby Estates, near Sydney, New South Wales.

In May, 1834, he was an applicant for the living of St. Margaret's, Leiston, Suffolk, in the gift alternately of Christ's Hospital and the Haberdashers' Company, to the latter of whom Coleridge penned the following letter recommending him for the same. The original letter, which has not hitherto been published, is in the writer's possession, and the reader will doubtless consider it as much a testimonial to Coleridge himself as to the candidate for the living!

This letter was written two months before Coleridge's death:

"To the Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers.

"Gentlemen

"The Living of Leiston in your presentation is vacant, and one of the Candidates is the Reverend James Gillman, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Among the weightier Testimonials and from higher Authority, which he will, doubtless, lay before you, condescend to accept that of the humble Individual, whose Name is subscribed,

* "Letters of S. T. Coleridge." Edited by Ernest H. Coleridge. 1895.

and who at an advanced Age writes from a Bed of Sickness under convictions, that subordinate every worldly motive and predilection to more aweful Interests.

"I have known the Rev^{d} James Gillman from his Childhood, as having been from that time to this a trusted Inmate of the Household of his dear and exemplary Parents. I have followed his progress at weekly Intervals from his entrance into the Merchants' Taylors' School, and traced his continued improvements under the excellent M^{r}. Bellamy to his Removal, as Head Scholar, to S^{t}. John's College: and during his academic Career his Vacations were in the main passed under my eye.

"I was myself educated for the Church at Christ's Hospital, and sent from that honored and unique Institution to Jesus College, Cambridge, under the tutorage and discipline of the Rev^{d} James Bowyer who has left an honored name in the Church for the zeal and ability with which he formed and trained his Orphan Pupils to the Sacred Ministry, as Scholars, as Readers, as Preachers, and as sound Interpreters of the Word. May I add that I was the Junior Schoolfellow in the next place, the Protegé, and the Friend of the late venerated D^{r}. Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta. And assuredly whatever under such Training and such Influence I learnt, or thro' a long life mainly devoted to Scriptural, Theological and Ecclesiastical Studies, I have been permitted to attain, I have been anxious to communicate to the Son of my dearest Friends, with little less than paternal Solicitude. And at all events I dare attest, that the Rev^{d} James Gillman is pure and blameless in morals and unexceptionable in manners, equally impressed with the importance of the Pastoral Duties as of the Labors in the Desk and the Pulpit: and that his mind is made up to preach the *whole* truth in Christ.

"Accept, Gentlemen, the unfeigned Respects of your aged humble Servant.

"S. T. COLERIDGE.

"Grove, Highgate,
"27 May, 1834."

The Rev. James Gillman seems about a year previous to this time to have thought of standing as a candidate for the Vicarship of Enfield, the gift to the living of which parish was apparently in the hands of the parishioners themselves, as appears from the following letter, written on May 7, 1833, to him by the celebrated though somewhat eccentric Charles Lamb,* and published in the "Life of Mary Lamb," by Mrs. Alex. Gilchrist :—

"By a strange occurrence we have quitted Enfield for ever. Oh! the happy eternity! Who is Vicar or Lecturer for that detestable place concerns us not. But Ashbury, surgeon and a good fellow, had offered to get you a Mover and Seconder, and you may use my name freely to him. Except him and Dr. Creswell, I have no respectable acquaintance in the dreary village. At least my friends are all in the *public* line, and it might not suit to have it moved at a special vestry by John Gage at the Crown and Horseshoe, licensed victualler, and seconded by Joseph Horner of the Green Dragon, ditto, that the Rev. J. G. is a fit person to be Lecturer, &c.

"My dear James, I wish you all success, but am too full of my own emancipation almost to congratulate anyone else. With both our loves to your father and mother and glorious S. T. C.,

"Yours, C. LAMB."

After acting for a short time as Under Master at the Highgate Grammar School he was presented by St. John's College, Oxford, to the living of Barfreystone, Kent, in October, 1836, a village situated about half-way between Canterbury and Dover, celebrated for one of the most beautiful small Norman churches that exists in England. This church, which was probably designed by the architect of, and built by the masons employed at, Canterbury Cathedral, is remarkable for its beautiful carved south door, circular Norman window and carved work inside the church.

Owing to its age and the subsidence of the soil, the church standing on a knoll of ground which had been much excavated for

* The original letter is in the possession of Mrs. Henry Watson, eldest daughter of the Rev. James Gillman.

graves, the walls had become much cracked and out of the perpendicular, so that the stability of the whole structure had become endangered.

The Rev. James Gillman, soon after his presentation, saw that the restoration or re-building of the church was inevitable. At that time but few old churches had been restored and the subject was but little understood. The popular idea on the subject was the old churchwardens' fashions of beautifying and adorning by plastering and whitewashing.

The new rector superintended the work himself with reverent care, under the direction of Mr. Twopenny, architect.

It was necessary to take all the principal walls down to the foundations. Each stone was carefully numbered and laid in its place on the grass of the surrounding churchyard, the greatest care being taken not to remove any of the lichen or moss that had grown on the outside stones, but only to clean and remove the churchwardens' whitewash where necessary.

When the church was re-built all the stones were placed back exactly in their original position, the only difference being that they were upright and exact in their fitting as the church had been six hundred years before.

The Duke of Wellington, then residing at Walmer, took a great interest in the restoration of the church, coming over several times during the progress of the work and lunching with the Rector. The Duke contributed liberally to the Church Restoration Fund.

When, subsequently, the Rector became Vicar of a parish in Lambeth and the Duke of Wellington was staying at Lambeth Palace with the Archbishop of Canterbury, he asked specially that the Rev. James Gillman might be invited to dinner to meet him. The three dined alone together, the Duke in course of conversation recalling with pleasure his visits to Barfreystone.



BARFREYSTONE CHURCH, KENT.

FROM THE N.E.

(From a Photo taken by the Author in 1863).

At the opening of the church, in the year 1842, there was a great congregation of the neighbouring clergy, and amongst them the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley). After the service was finished the Archbishop thus addressed the Rector: "Mr. Gillman, I am much disappointed at the appearance of the work, I thought this church had been restored, I can see no signs of new work, &c." Whereupon the Rector replied, raising his hat, "Thank you, my lord, that is the greatest compliment on the work I have had paid me yet."

The author was the first child baptised (March 10, 1844) in the new font placed in the church soon after it was re-opened.

In the year 1847 the Rev. James Gillman exchanged the living of Barfreystone for the Vicarage of Holy Trinity, Lambeth, in the south of London, in which large and poor parish he found a greater sphere for his energies and indefatigable work, this notice appearing at the time in a Kentish newspaper:—

"On Sunday week the Rev. James Gillman preached a farewell sermon at Barfreystone Church, near Wingham, and the following is the copy of an address from his late parishioners, together with the rev. gentleman's reply:—

"Barfreystone, Nov. 10, 1847.

"Revd. Sir,—The poor and humble inhabitants of Barfreystone, sincerely regretting your removal, beg leave to express their unfeigned esteem for your character and thankfulness for the religious advantages enjoyed during your ministry, as well as for numerous private acts of individual kindness conferred upon them.

"On the eve of your departure they respectfully solicit your acceptance of a silver cream pot and butter knife, as a very small token of grateful remembrance, in after times, when you are removed to a more enlarged sphere of usefulness, where they hope and trust the blessing of God will rest upon you and your exertions.

"To the Rev. James Gillman.

"*To the Parishioners of Barfreystone.*

"My dear Christian friends, alas! no longer parishioners,—It is with the deepest emotion that I receive your very beautiful and unexpected testimonial, which I shall ever prize as a token that you reciprocate those feelings of regard I have long entertained for you all.

"In the arduous duties upon which I am about to enter, it will be no small support and consolation to reflect that I carry with me such unfeigned sympathy from you all—sympathy the more valuable because springing from the genuine kindness of your own hearts rather than the popularity of the opinions I conscientiously entertain.

"Mrs. Gillman unites in offering her most cordial thanks for the kind expressions we have both personally received, and in heartily wishing that Providence may extend to you the highest blessings, temporal and spiritual.

"Ever yours, faithfully and affectionately,

"J. GILLMAN.

"Nov. 10th, 1847."

The following year, 1848, was the memorable one in which the cholera visited London and carried off thousands of victims, especially in the district of Lambeth. For three weeks he never returned to his home for fear of carrying the contagion to his family, but attended the sick and dying unremittingly day and night, never undressing but sleeping only on a sofa in the surgery of the parish doctor.

In recognition of his labours at this dreadful period the parishioners, though consisting almost entirely of the poorest classes, presented him with a handsome silver inkstand. At this time, and during the whole period of his being Vicar of Holy Trinity, the Rev. James Gillman set a good example as a parish priest in the way he visited his parishioners. Once every year at least he called at every house in the parish, and not only at every house, but upon every family in each house, many houses having several families living in them. In those times, at least, few clergy were so unremitting in their labors.



The Revd. JAMES GILLMAN, B.C.L.

(Formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.)

From a Painting by Herman Mesbeth, A.R.S.A.

His experience amongst the working classes and the interest he took in their earthly as well as spiritual affairs showed him, how much difficulty and distress in consequence often occurred on the death either of the head or a member of the family, in providing the necessary monies for the funeral, &c.

This led him to give his attention to the question of providing a fund for the same on a similar principle to life insurance, then but little practised or known amongst the working classes, and adapting the system to their special requirements.

In conjunction with Mr. Henry Harben, then the secretary of a comparatively small and struggling insurance company (called the Prudential), he evolved a scheme for insurance not only of the heads of a family but of the wife and children, so that by small weekly payments of one penny and upwards, without the annoyance of a medical examination, a certain sum depending on the age of the insured and the number of pence paid weekly, should be immediately remitted by return of post, on receipt of advice of the death of the person insured, to the proper representatives. Thus providing at once a sum of money for the funeral and other expenses.

The Rev. James Gillman, in order the better to develop and superintend this new scheme, became Chairman of the Company in the year 1850, as he considered this a great philanthropic work. The office of director of an insurance company being by Act of Parliament specially provided as one that can be held by a clergyman without contravening any ecclesiastical or secular law.

So marvellously successful was this new scheme, proving itself so well adapted to the requirements of the working classes, &c., that the sum of money received by the Company on this account in weekly payments of pence amounted before the Chairman's death, in 1877, to over £2,000,000 per annum, and has since increased to more than double that amount.

At the present time over 11,000,000 of the population of Great Britain, principally in England, are insured in this Company under this system, and sums of money equal to over £1,500,000 per annum are distributed by the next post after receipt of the proper notice of death, to the representatives of nearly 170,000 persons.

The Rev. James Gillman died on April 3, 1877, his wife having predeceased him on the 6th May, 1862.

They had seven children :

I. James Coleridge, born May 22, 1842, at Bath ; died Feb. 17, 1875, without issue.

II. Alexander William, born Dec. 1, 1843, at Barfreystone, Kent, of whom directly.

III. Arthur Riley, born Sept. 11, 1852, of whom presently.

IV. Charles Herbert, born July 6, 1854 ; died June 26, 1879, unmarried.

I. Lucy Eleanor, born July 4, 1838 ; married May 19, 1863, the Rev. Henry G. Watson, Vicar of Great Stoughton, Huntingdonshire, late Vicar of St. Leonard's, Tring.

II. Amelia, born Feb. 13, 1840; died Feb. 16, 1862.

III. Sophia Raby, born May 30, 1851 ; married Cosmo Gordon Howard, Esq., June 24, 1873.



SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

(As a Young Man).

From an Original Oil Painting, believed to be by Matilda Betham.

Now in the possession of Alex. W. Gillman.

ADDENDA.

THE following letter from Mrs. Lucy E. Watson, granddaughter of James Gillman, Surgeon, of Highgate, appeared in the *Times* on June 8th, 1895, in reference to Coleridge's habit of taking opium, and to some remarks thereon which were made in a review in the same newspaper on the recently published "Letters of Coleridge," edited by his grandson, Ernest H. Coleridge :—

"S. T. COLERIDGE.

"To the Editor of the 'Times.'

"Sir,—In the review of the above work in your issue of April 27 your reviewer says :—'The perpetual cry of ill-health seems to echo through the volumes from end to end, and this, being interpreted, means little less than opium and indolence. There is no getting over this unfortunate truth.'

"In justice to Coleridge's memory I think the following extract from a letter by my grandfather, Mr. Gillman (with whom, as is well known, the poet lived more than 18 years), should be made more widely known :—

"'From some expressions in your letter I am induced to give you a short account of Mr. Coleridge's personal sufferings and their physical causes, which sufferings at the last were agonizing to himself and to those about him.

"'After his decease his body was inspected by two able anatomists appointed by Professor Green, a task too painful for either him or myself to perform.

"'The left side of the chest was nearly occupied by the heart, which was immensely enlarged and the sides of which were so thin as not to be able to sustain its weight when raised.

"'The right side of the chest was filled with a fluid enclosed in a membrane, having the appearance of a cyst, amounting in quantity to upwards of three quarts, so that the lungs on both sides were completely compressed.

"'This will sufficiently account for his bodily sufferings, which were almost without intermission during the progress of the disease, and will explain to you the necessity of subduing these sufferings by narcotics, and of driving on a most feeble circulation by stimulants, which his case had imperatively demanded.

"'This disease, which is generally of slow progress, had its commencement in Coleridge nearly 40 years before his death.

"'To the general observer his disease masked itself; and his personal sufferings were hidden and concealed by his fortitude and resignation and by the extraordinary power he had of apparently overcoming and drowning them, as it were, at times in fervid colloquy.'

"I could say much more on this subject did space permit; but I think that the evidence of the *post-mortem* examination and the testimony of my grandfather as to his sufferings during life are sufficient to show that the 'cry of ill-health' was not all 'opium and indolence.'

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"LUCY E. WATSON.

"Great Staughton, St. Neots, June 5."

The above quoted letter from James Gillman was written to Joseph Cottle. The *Lancet* on June 15, 1895, made the following comments on this letter, reprinting it therein:—

"The tyranny of the body finds its most striking exemplification in the subjects of chronic disease, which without actually threatening life so restricts vitality as to modify the whole character of the individual. The old classification of temperaments may be largely interpreted in a pathological sense, for a real basis in organic derangement may be at the root of the physical and moral attributes

that the individual possesses. This is, we fear, too often overlooked in persons who belong to the great class of hypochondriacs, for whom, it may be, less sympathy is shown than is deserved. The case of Coleridge is an illustration of this. A recent review of his life in the columns of the *Times* interpreted his 'perpetual cry of ill-health' to mean 'little less than opium and indolence.' This opinion brought forth from the granddaughter of Mr. Gillman, 'with whom the poet lived for more than eighteen years,' a reply containing a most interesting account of Coleridge's chronic ailment penned by Mr. Gillman, which accounts for much of his idiosyncrasies of character and habits. The account here given of the *post-mortem* examination was probably not intended for professional perusal, and is therefore not so precise and definite as to be quite clearly interpreted. Thus it is somewhat puzzling to define the condition described in the right pleura. The large 'cyst' mentioned could hardly have been a hydatid. It is more likely, we think, that it was really a pleural effusion, which seemed to be encysted from the presence of adhesions of the lung to the chest wall. If this be so then this effusion may be regarded as dropsical in character, occurring towards the close of life in a subject of chronic cardiac dilatation. The account which describes the enormous size of the heart and the extreme tenuity of its walls is silent as to the pericardium, but such a degree of enlargement may well have been due to universal adhesion of the heart to the pericardial sac, from the inflammation of the latter in early life. The record, however, suffices to prove that this intellectual giant must have suffered more than the world was aware of, and it can be understood that his 'indolence' as well as his opium habit had a physical basis. It can only add to the marvel with which his achievements are justly regarded that one so physically disabled should have made such extensive and profound contributions to philosophy and literature. It is one more instance of the triumph of mind over body."

Notes by S. T. Coleridge.

THE following Notes were, amongst others, copied by Mrs. Ann Gillman, of Highgate, from some of Coleridge's rough note books, with the approval of Professor Joseph Henry Green, the Poet's literary executor, and of Henry Nelson Coleridge, his nephew and son-in-law, for use in James Gillman's second volume of his "Life of S. T. Coleridge," which was never completed.

They show the intimate association of Mr. Gillman with Coleridge in his philosophical thought, and are now (with the assent of Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, the Poet's grandson and legal representative) printed for the first time, by kind permission of Mrs. Henry Watson, who received them from her grandmother, Mrs. Gillman, and who has preserved them with other papers connected with Coleridge, with a view of writing a Sketch of the Highgate period of the Poet and Philosopher's life.

"Friday Evening, 18 Sept., 1820.

"Mr. Gillman's just observation of the Senses, not enumerated with those so called, Sight, Hearing, Smelling and Touch. He instanced

"*Handiness*—but many others might be stated, though this is very striking, permeative and contra-distinguishing. In some of these indeed that recipiency, capacity, active passivity, which seems essential to our notion of *Senses* as far as we appropriate the term a sense, to the 5 so called is wanting—as in Handiness, which might therefore seem to require the name of Faculty (innate faculty) rather than that of a Sense—but this is not the case with all, as ex. gr. the sense of Time, the sense of Relation either in Place or Time (mem. a word wanting that should be to Time, what Place is to Space) but even with regard to the former as the faculty of Handiness, there

must assuredly be co-inherent some feminine or receptive power, some peculiar organ of assurance, some assurability of an outward correspondent, waiting as it were to be raised from Being into Existence by the formative Handiness."

[Vellum clasp (note book), page 267 at the bottom, No. 29.]

"Friday evening, Sept. 18, 1820, half an hour later.

"Found Mr. Gillman with Hartley in the Garden attempting to explain to himself and to Hartley a feeling of a something not present in Milton's works, *i.e.*, 'The Paradise Lost,' 'Paradise Regained,' and 'Samson Agonistes,' which he did feel so delightfully in the Lycidas—and (as I added afterwards in the Italian Sonnets compared with the English) and this appeared to me the Poet appearing and wishing to appear *as* the *Poet*. A man likewise! For is not *the Poet* a man? as much as, tho' more rare than, the Father, the Brother, the Preacher, the Patriot. Compare with Milton, Chaucer, 'Fall of the Leaf,' &c., &c., and Spenser throughout—and you cannot but *feel* what Mr. Gillman meant to convey—what is the solution? This I believe—but I must premise that there is a Synthesis of intellectual Insight, including the *Mental* Object, or '*Anschauung*,' the organ and the correspondent being indivisible, and this (O deep truth), because the Objectivity consists in the universality of its Subjectiveness. As when A *sees*, and millions *see*, even so—and the seeing of the millions is what constitutes to A and to each of the million the *objectivity* of the Sight, the *equivalent* to a Common Object—(a synthesis of *this* I say), and of proper external Object, what we call fact. Now this it is, which we find in Religion, and the contents of Religion—it is more than philosophical Truth, it is other and more than Historical Fact; it is not made up by the addition of the one to the other—but it is the *Identity* of both—the Co-inherence. Now this being understood, I proceed to say, using the term *Objectivity* (arbitrarily I grant) for this Identity of Truth and Fact—that Milton hid the Poetry in or *transformed* (not transubstantiated) the Poetry into this objectivity—while Shakspeare, in all things the divine opposite, or antithetic correspondent of the divine Milton, transferred the *Objectivity* into *Poetry*."

[Vellum clasp (note book), No 29.—S. T. C., 264.]

"Mr. Gillman observed as peculiar to the 'Hamlet' that it alone of all Shakspeare's Plays presented to him a moving along *before* him —while in others it was a *moving indeed*, but with which he himself moved equally in all and with all, and without any external something Something by which the motion was manifested—even as a man would move in a Balloon out of the sight of all objects but himself and the Balloon——a sensation of motion, but not a sight of moving and having been moved—and why is this? Because of all the Characters of Shakespeare's Plays, 'Hamlet' is the only character, with which, by contra-distinction from the rest of the Dram. Pers.—the *fit* and capable Reader identifies himself, as the representative of his own contemplative action, &c., &c., belongs to others, the moment we call it our own and strictly *proper* and *very own* Being—hence the events of all the characters *move* because *you* stand still—in the other Plays your identity is equally *diffused over all*. Of no parts can you say as in 'Hamlet' *they* are moving—(but ever it is *we* or that period and portion of human action which is *unified* into a Dream, even as in a Dream the personal unity is diffused and severalized (divided to the sight, tho' united in the dim feeling) into a sort of Reality—Even so the styles of Spenser and Chaucer—the same *weight* of effect from the exceeding felicity (Subjectivity) of Shakespeare—and the exceeding *propriety* (extra arbitrium) of Milton."

[Vellum, clasp (note book), p. 266, No. 29.]

"Thursday afternoon, 8 April, 1824 (the day after my return to the Grove, Highgate, from Mr. Allsop's).

"A very original and pregnant Idea started, and pursued by Mr. Gillman afforded me a highly gratifying proof that I had not idly attached so great an importance to the fundamental scheme in the Logic of Trichotomy (vide the larger vellum parallelogram), viz.,

"Prothesis

"Real

"Thesis	"Antithesis
+ "Actual	—"Potential

"the + Real or Positive Pole and the —Real or Negative Pole being two forms—just as Negative Electricity is truly Electricity as Positive Electricity.

"Now Mr. Gillman's Idea may be expressed in this Position, and in his own words—

"Organization, and each total organismus or organized Body is *Potential* Life; Life *Actual* has no organ. The Act of organizing (as in the Foetus) is the transition into the Potential—a vital Fluxion—a *becoming* Potential. Hence Thought can have no organ—no, nor yet proper Sensation. Spite of the contradiction to this in the phrase organs of Sense, Sense has no organ—and in strict propriety we should say, organs from the senses. Those so called are indeed organs for receiving and preparing and conducting the *conditions* of sense—the cerebral Lobes, or proper Brain, is the Organ—not of sense—but as far as the *organic* form and life are meant—and not the mere carbon, Azote, &c., it is itself *potential* sense. Now hereby flashes a full light on the nature of consciousness, and in all finite Beings (for herein their finiteness consists) of the Potential to the Actual: and Consciousness is the immediate reference to its appropriate Potential. Hence God (Actus absolute purus, sine ulla potentialitate) is the only incorporeal Being. As consciousness is the passing of the Actual into the Potential, and therefore at a given moment the Indifference of both (N.B.—The Will alone is the Identity), so memory is the passing of the Potential into the Actual—and all Potential, as necessarily referring to an Actual, has an analogous nature to memory. Hence the feeling of Memory connected with sweet and pathetic Music.

"Sensation + Sense, Sensation *tending* to pass, into Sense, the nascent quantitas, as ex. gr. of muscular function when we seem to fly in our sleep, and *vice versâ* the sense rapidly becoming *transitional* into the Potential, which Transition is Sensation. Now this Mr. Gillman means to apply in detail to the explanation of Inflamation, as an undue Actualization of the Potential, carefully distinguishing the sequents which are in fact the correctives of Inflamation itself —for what are the Thickening Induration, Induration, effusion of Coagulable lymph, &c., but so many forms of potentializing the Actual, or reducing it to potentiality?

"S. T. C."

[Brown or red parallelogram clasp, 1826-1827, Page 17.]

Coleridge's Manuscript of Schiller's Wallenstein.

THE following description by Ferdinand Freiligrath, the German Poet, of the original Manuscript of Schiller's Wallenstein (now in the possession of the writer of this book), from which Coleridge made his well-known Translation, originally appeared in the "Athenæum." It is deemed expedient that it should be here reprinted, being of great interest to admirers of Schiller and Coleridge, to many of whom it is probably unknown.

June 8, 1861.

By the kindness of Mr. Gillman* I have had an opportunity of collating the Wallenstein Manuscript in his possession, formerly the property of S. T. Coleridge, with Herr Wendelin von Maltzahn's recent publication of the Berlin Manuscript of Wallenstein: a short notice of which was given in No. 1750 of your journal. Perhaps, as Mr. Gillman's interesting communication has not failed to attract the attention of the admirers of Schiller and Coleridge in this country, as well as abroad, a few final remarks about the subject may not seem out of place.

The result of my examination, quite apart from all external evidence, is this:—The manuscript—a thin folio, consisting of twenty-four leaves, foolscap size, each leaf comprising two pages, and each page two columns of narrow writing, in English (not German) characters, is genuine beyond the shadow of a doubt. It is, moreover, the identical copy of the last part of Wallenstein from which Coleridge made his translation; and, lastly, it agrees in all essential points with the corresponding part of the manuscript kept at the Royal Library, Berlin (MS. Germ. Quart. 480), as published by Herr von Maltzahn.

* The Rev. James Gillman.

The following details will tend to corroborate my assertions :—

The writing of the verification on the last (not, as at Berlin, on the first) page of the manuscript is unmistakeably Schiller's. It is, like the manuscript itself, in English characters (thus, it would seem, indicating that the copy was expressly intended for the perusal of a foreign eye), and in the boldest and stateliest style of the poet's always bold and stately hand. As a few slips have occurred in the text of the document as given in Mr. Gillman's note, an accurate reproduction will not appear superfluous :—

"Dieses Schauspiel ist nach meiner eigenen Handschrift copiert und von mir selbst durchgesehen, welches ich hiemit attestiere.

"Jena, 30 September 1799. "FRIDRICH SCHILLER."

The alterations, also, in the body of the manuscript mentioned by Mr. Gillman are by Schiller's own hand. For the greatest part they are made to correct some blunder of the copier; sometimes, too, they are improvements upon the text. A less dignified expression is struck out, and a more dignified word or phrase put in instead; a happy simile is introduced for a less happy one; a word or a few words are added or underlined (Schiller's underlinings are distinguished from those of the copier by a blacker sort of ink), and a word or a whole passage is cancelled with broad, sweeping dashes. Here and there a marginal pencil-mark or a half-visible word, in English, feebly written in pencil between the lines, meets the eye. These are not Schiller's,—they betray the silent, thoughtful work of the translator. The two or three words of the kind which I have remarked are evidently in the handwriting of Coleridge, and give the meaning of the German words in the line above; the marginal marks point out part of the passages omitted in the translation.

I have still to speak about the conformity of the London with the Berlin manuscript. It is almost complete. The title of both manuscripts (I must remark, however, that the London copy has not got a separate title-page) is, 'Wallenstein, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen,' not, as this last part is called in all the printed editions, 'Wallenstein's Tod,' &c. The arrangement of the acts and scenes is exactly the same in both copies. The hitherto unknown passages,

also, which struck us in the Berlin manuscript (as, for instance, the monologue of Butler, act iii., scene 9, of which Coleridge, as we now find, has only translated the first seventeen lines out of twenty-eight), are equally to be met with in the London copy; even the cancelled passages of the latter are indicated as such in the Berlin manuscript by Herr von Maltzahn. Yet there *are* slight differences,—partly in the stage directions, partly, also, in the dialogue. It is not my intention to give in this place a complete list of these deviations; a few instances will suffice. In the Swedish captain's narrative of the death of Max (act iv., scene 4), we read in the Berlin manuscript:—

Von einer Partisan durchstochen, wüthend, stutzt
Sein Pferd und schleudert, &c.

In the London copy the passage is the same, only, instead of *stutzt*, we read in it *steigt*, which is certainly the preferable word, as a mortally wounded horse does not merely *shy (stutzt)*, but *rears (steigt)*. The later printed editions (the first not being in my possession I cannot compare it), have the word *bäumt*, which is synonymous with *steigt*. A clerical error in the Berlin manuscript, or a misprint in Herr von Maltzahn's publication of it, must be supposed in this place. In the following lines (complete in the Berlin book):—

Act II., Scene III.

Halt! Front! *Richt euch.* Präsentirt!
* * * * * *
Gewehr *auf Schulter! Gewehr* in Arm!

Act II., Scene IV.

Rechts um! *Marsch!*

—the words printed in italics have been struck out in the London copy. Some specimens, also, of the corrections by Schiller's hand, which we find in the London manuscript, will be of interest:—

Act II., Scene V.

Es kann nicht seyn. Bedenke doch! Der Alte.

Here "Der Alte" has been cancelled for "Sein Vater."

Act III., Scene VI.

Sie waren's, die in seiner ruhigen Brust
Den Aufruhr böser Leidenschaft entzündet,
Die mit fluchwürdiger Geschäftigkeit
Die Unglücksfrucht in ihm genährt.

INDEX.

PAGE

Adams, Dr., S. T. Coleridge's Medical Adviser 7
"Aids to Reflection," Coleridge's 17
Allsopp, Thomas, visits Coleridge at Highgate 10
———, Coleridge's Letter to . . 17
———, his work, "Coleridge's Letters and Conversations". 24
Allston, Washington, the Artist 20[C]
———, his Letter to Coleridge . 20[D]
———, his painting of the Horse Fair in Spain . . . . . 20[C]
Anster, Dr., his opinion of James Gillman . . . . . 20[D]
Barfreystone, Kent, Rev. James Gillman, Rector of . . 29-32
———, Restoration of its Church 29
Bowyer, Rev. James 28
Boyce, Amelia, her sketch of James Gillman's house . . 6
Brandl, Prof. A., on Coleridge's life at Highgate 8-10
Brougham, Lord, recommends a grant to Coleridge . . . 18
Caine, Hall, his statements *re* Coleridge and the Gillmans 15-16
Carlisle, Anthony, F.R S. . . 6
Carlyle, Thomas, on Coleridge's life at Highgate 8
Cholera in London, 1848 . . 32
"Christabel," Coleridge's poem of 7

PAGE

Coleridge, Mrs., visits the Gillmans 9
Coleridge, E. H., his "Letters of S. T. Coleridge" . 18-20, *note*
Coleridge, Hartley and James Gillman 39
Coleridge, H. N., his volume of Coleridge's "Table Talk" . 11
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, enters James Gillman's house at Highgate 7-8
———, his use of opium . . 6, 14
———, this habit overcome . . 15
———, his poem "Christabel" 7, 17
———, his favourite plants . 9, 25
———, his tour on the Rhine . 10
———, his pecuniary circumstances. 15-19
———, his "Aids to Reflection" 17
———, edition of his poems by Gillman and Jameson . . . 20
———, his pension 17-18
———, his monument at Highgate 12
———, autopsy on 35-37
———, his "Inscription for a Fountain" . . . . . 20[B]
———, his portrait, by Leslie . 20[D]
———, his Life, by James Gillman 21, 38
———, his gratitude to the Gillmans . . . 14, 19, 20[A], 20[C]

PAGE

COLERIDGE, SAMUEL TAYLOR, description of his life at Highgate 8, 10, 11, 19
———, his letter to John Gale . 8
———, his letter to James Gillman 14
———, his letter to Thomas Allsop 17
———, his letters to Mrs. Gillman 19, 25
———, his letter to Rev. James Gillman 20C
———, his letter to Dinah Knowe 20C
———, his letter to Prof. J. H. Green 27
———, his letter to the Haberdashers' Company 27
———, his letters to others . 20B, 23, 24, 25
———, his education 28
———. Extracts from his note-books 38
———, his views on Milton's poetry 39
———, on the "Logic of Trichotomy" 40
———, his translation of Schiller's "Wallenstein" 42
COTTLE, JOSEPH, James Gillman's letter to 36
EMERSON, RALPH WALDO, visits Coleridge at Highgate . . 9
ENFIELD, Rev. James Gillman a candidate for the living of . 29
———, Charles Lamb's dislike of 29
FREILIGRATH, FERDINAND, on the original MS. of Schiller's "Wallenstein" 42

PAGE

FRERE, HOOKHAM, visits Coleridge at Highgate 10
GALE, JOHN, Coleridge's letter to 8
GILLMAN, ALEXANDER WILLIAM 31
GILLMAN, AMELIA 34
GILLMAN, ANNE (*née* Harding), her portrait 9, 20D
———, her character . 9, 19, 20A, 20D, 24
———, letters to, from Coleridge, 19, 25
———, her memorial inscription at Highgate 22
———, meets with an accident . 25
GILLMAN, ARTHUR RILEY . . . 34
GILLMAN, CHARLES HERBERT . 34
GILMAN, ELIZABETH (*née* Bracey) 5
GILMAN, FRANCES (*née* Keymer). 5
GILLMAN, HENRY ANTHONY . 22, 26
GILLMAN, JAMES, born at Yarmouth 5
———, his medical education . 6
———, his prize essay on the "Bite of a Rabid Animal" . 6, 9
———, his marriage 6
———, settles at Highgate . . 6
———, consultations in London 6
———, his portrait 9, 20D
———, associated with Coleridge in his philosophical thought 9, 38
———, collaborates with Coleridge in a "Theory of Life" 9
———, composes Coleridge's epitaph 12
———, his letter to the *Times* on Coleridge's pension . . . 18

PAGE

GILLMAN, JAMES, his letter to Joseph Cottle on the cause of Coleridge's death 36
———, still remembered at Highgate 23
———, his character 6, 9, 20[A], 20[D], 23
———, edits Coleridge's poems with Jameson . . . 20, *note*
———, his tour with the Duke of St. Albans 21
———, his death at Ramsgate . 21
———, his monument in St. Michael's, Highgate . . . 22
———, his "Life of Coleridge" 21, 38
———, his friendship with Coleridge . . . 6, 8, 9, 19, 20[D]
———, his hospitality at Highgate . . . 9, 10, 16, 20[A], 20[B], 23
———, his observations on the Senses 38
———, his views on Milton's poetry 39
———, his observations on Shakespeare's plays . . . 40
———, his observations on organization 41
GILLMAN, REV. JAMES, and S. T. Coleridge . . . . 10, 16, *note*
———, Coleridge's letter to . . 20[C]
———, his education 27
———, applies for the living of Leiston 27
———, his character by Coleridge 28
———, a candidate for living of Enfield 29
———, Charles Lamb's letter to 29
———, appointed incumbent of Barfreystone 29

PAGE

GILLMAN, REV. JAMES, his restoration of Barfreystone Church 30, 31
———, his farewell at Barfreystone 31, 32
———, receives the living of Holy Trinity, Lambeth 31
———, his devotion during the cholera epidemic 32
———, his exertions for the insurance of the working classes. 33
GILLMAN, JAMES COLERIDGE . 34
GILMAN, JOHN, of Yarmouth . . 5
GILLMAN, LUCY ELEANOR. (See also Watson, Lucy E.) . . 34
GILLMAN, SOPHIA (*née* Riley) . . 27
GILLMAN, SOPHIA RABY . . . 34
GREEN, PROF. J. H., visits Coleridge at Highgate . . . 9, 11
———, subscribes to an annuity for Coleridge 17
———, Coleridge's letter to . . 27
———, arranges for an autopsy on Coleridge 35
———, Coleridge's executor . . 38
GROVE, THE, Highgate . . . 5, 6
HABERDASHERS' COMPANY, Coleridge's letter to the . . 27
HALLAM, ARTHUR H., visits Coleridge at Highgate . . 11
HARDING, ANNE. (See also Gillman, Anne, *née* Harding) 6
HARDING, JAMES 6
HARE, JULIUS, visits Coleridge at Highgate 11
HATHERLY, LORD, on Coleridge's conversation 11
HIGHGATE GRAMMAR SCHOOL 23, 29

PAGE

Highgate Old Chapel . . 10, 23
Holy Trinity, Lambeth, Rev. James Gillman's incumbency of 31, 32
———, cholera in the parish, 1848. 32
Howard, Cosmo Gordon . . 34
Howard, Sophia Raby (*née* Gillman) 34
Howley, Archbishop, at Barfreystone 31
Hunt, Leigh, and Coleridge. . 11
Insurance amongst the Working Classes. 33
Irving, Edward, visits Coleridge at Highgate 11, 12
Jameson, —, edits Coleridge's poems with James Gillman . 20
Keats, John, visits Coleridge at Highgate 10
Keymer, —, Surgeon of Norwich 5-6
Keymer, Frances 5
Knowe, Dinah, Coleridge's letter to . . . . . 20[c]
Lamb, Charles, visits Coleridge at Highgate 9, 11
———, anecdote of, in the coach 12
———, his affection for Coleridge and the Gillmans 14
———, his letter to the Rev. James Gillman 29
Lambeth 31, 32
Lancet, the, on Coleridge's state at death 36
Leiston, Suffolk 27
Leslie, Charles R., his letter to Coleridge . . . . . 20[b]

PAGE

Maurice, Frederick Denison, visits Coleridge at Highgate 11
Merchant Taylors' School, James Gillman at 27
Middleton, Dr., first Bishop of Calcutta 28
Milton, Coleridge and James Gillman's views on his poetry 39
Montagu, Basil, visits Coleridge at Highgate 11
Munster, Earl of, and Coleridge's pension 18
Music, vocal, Coleridge on . . 20[b]
Norwich 5
Pickering, William, the publisher 20, 21
Prentiss, —, the American . . 21
"Rabid Animal," James Gillman's Essay on the Bite of a 6
Ramsgate, Coleridge's summer visits to 10, 25
———, James and Ann Gillman buried there 22
Restoration of Barfreystone Church 30, 31
Riley, Alexander 27
Riley, Sophia 27
Royal Society of Literature, the 18
Schiller's Manuscript of "Wallenstein" 42
St. Albans, Duke of, James Gillman's tour with him . . 21
St. John's College, Oxford, James Gillman at 27
St. Michael's, Highgate . . 12, 21

PAGE

SENSES, Handiness included among the 38
SHAKESPEARE, Coleridge's observations on his objectivity . 39
———, James Gillman's observations on his plays . . . 40
SHELLEY, PERCY B., and Coleridge 11
STUART, DANIEL, applies to the Earl of Munster on Coleridge's behalf 18
———, Coleridge's letter to . 20^A, 23
TAYLOR, THOMAS, his evidence *re* Coleridge 15
"THEORY OF LIFE," a, by Coleridge and James Gillman . 9
Times, letters to the 18, 35
"WALLENSTEIN," the original manuscript of, used by Coleridge in his translation . . 42
WATSON, REV. HENRY G. . . . 34

PAGE

WATSON, LUCY E. (*née* Gillman), furnishes details of Coleridge's life at Highgate . 9, 19, *note*, 20^A, 38
———, her letter to the *Times* on Coleridge's death 35
———, her proposed "Sketch of Coleridge's Life at Highgate" 38
WATSON, DR. SETH B. . . . 16, *note*
WELLINGTON, THE DUKE OF, and Rev. James Gillman . . . 30
WILSON, JOHN, visits Coleridge at Highgate 11
WORDSWORTH, WILLIAM, accompanies Coleridge up the Rhine 10
———, visits Coleridge at Highgate 11
WORKING CLASSES, Rev. James Gillman's exertions among 32-33
YARMOUTH, Norfolk 5

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